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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Notice to Members

The Membership Committee would call the attention of the members of the Historical Association to the fact that our activities could be greatly expanded if we had a larger membership.

Any member of the Society of Friends and also non-Friends are eligible for membership and the committee would welcome nominations. Kindly forward such nominations to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, Anna J. Branson, 6013 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

Volume 16, No. 1 Spring Number, 1927

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

THE FAMOUS CASE OF THOMAS SHOTWELL VS. STACY DECOW AND JOHN HENDRICKSON.

A paper by Francis R. Taylor, read at the summer meeting of Friends' Historical Association held at Friends' Meeting House, Crosswicks, New Jersey, Sixth Month 5, 1926.

A century is not a very long time, in the lives of nations and communities; still shorter does it seem when we see works of nature like the giant oak tree in this meeting house yard at Crosswicks. The unhappy events that we shall pass in review this afternoon are but ninety-eight years in retrospect. Three generations of men have passed and no one is living who remembers them as contemporaries. Time has dealt kindly with us in effecting much of a reconciliation, and still, we find little in these occurrences to rival in antiquity the age of this tree which is one of the three famous oaks of Jersey. How fascinating it would be, if that ancient tree could reveal to us the scenes that have been enacted under and around it since it was a sapling, perhaps two hundred and fifty years ago. We would know of dense and untrodden forest, of Indian life and an abundance of wild creatures, in the woods, the air and the streams. We would learn of the coming of the settlers,—the building of houses and the settlement of this picturesque village. All of these the ancient oak has known in the steady progress of industry and tranquility. Five meeting houses have been located in this vicinity and the present dignified building is a fitting although younger companion of the tree, in simplicity, antiquity and beauty.

But times of conflict, re-echoed from the great world outside, invaded this remote and peaceful community. The quarrel between England and her stripling Colonies left the enduring memento that has been replaced permanently in the wall, this afternoon. Perhaps no other symbol could bring home to us more vividly the stress of that conflict than the American cannon ball,

which may or may not have done some greater damage before it found its resting place in the walls of this house of peace.

Fifty years later another storm broke over this quiet hamlet,—again between factions closely knit by family ties. In intensity, it surpassed the earlier struggle and like it, it has left an indelible memento behind that the century has but begun to efface. We are well able to discuss dispassionately the Revolutionary War and no one would accuse us of worthless revival of past rancor, in replacing the cannon ball to its permanent, innocuous position. I hope likewise that none will think ill of the effort today, in reviewing, from a calm, historical standpoint, the unhappy litigation that arose in this meeting, the chief actors in which frequented this house and enjoyed the shade of the old oak. It is my firm belief that much good can result from a candid and unbiased examination of those events which will put them in their larger historical setting.

Late in the Eighteenth Century, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting became concerned about the education of its youth. The Yearly Meeting sent down advices requesting Friends everywhere to raise subscriptions; to build houses for schools and to pay qualified masters to instruct the children. The Westtown School of today was the culminating feature of this plan. In Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, (which was Crosswicks) this good work resulted in a fund first subscribed in 1792 by twenty-seven Friends, who were joined later by others, until a total of £580 was finally accumulated by Samuel Middleton, the first Treasurer. He was succeeded in 1812, by Joshua W. Satterthwait, who in turn was followed by Joseph Hendrickson in 1816, by appointment of Chesterfield Preparative Meeting. In 1821, Joseph Hendrickson, as Treasurer, loaned $2,000 of this fund to Thomas Shotwell, security being given by mortgage upon a farm of fifty-six acres, on the road between Bordentown and Crosswicks. I am reliably informed that this farm is the first one outside Crosswicks Village on the south side of the Bordentown Road.

In 1828, the Separation having taken place, Joseph Hendrickson adhered to the Orthodox side, it being in a considerable minority in Chesterfield Monthly Meeting. The Hicksite Friends demanded an accounting from him, which he refused, whereupon

they appointed Stacy Decow as Treasurer. Both Treasurers then demanded payment of the mortgage from Shotwell, who during later proceedings was received into membership with the Hicksite Friends. The Orthodox meeting instructed Hendrickson to foreclose the mortgage, which he undertook to do. Shotwell filed a Bill of Interpleader, stating that he did not know which Treasurer to pay the money to, and requesting that the two parties interplead,—that is, settle their differences between themselves, without jeopardizing his position by forcing him to pay the wrong man. Decow consequently filed an Answer to Hendrickson's original Bill and the pleadings, from a technical standpoint, were then complete.

These various papers are voluminous in themselves. In them are set forth the grounds upon which each party relied in a case that shook American Quakerism to its base. Friends everywhere realized that a test case was on,—a case that we of today do well to study, because therein are set forth much of our ancient history and practically all of both sides of the Hicksite controversy. The original Bill was filed November 13, 1828. Decow's final Answer was dated February 9, 1830. The hearings for testimony before Jeremiah J. Foster, Master and Examiner in Chancery, started March 15, 1830, and continued by adjournments until April 13, 1831. Arguments upon the testimony then ensued so that the decision of Chief Justice Ewing was not delivered until July 10, 1832. This decision, in favor of the Orthodox contentions was appealed to the High Court of Errors and Appeals, which heard the case at a special term, beginning July 16, 1833, and holding for a month before it confirmed the former decision of the Court of Chancery by a split decision of seven to four.

Counsel for the Hicksite Friends were originally Garret D. Wall and Eli K. Price who were later joined by Samuel L. Southard. The Orthodox legal talent at the start consisted of Jeremiah H. Sloan and Abraham Brown. They were later augmented by Isaac H. Williamson, George Wood and Theodore Frelinghuysen. Williamson was Governor of New Jersey and ex-officio, Chancellor, at the start of the proceedings and also a member of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. Both Southard and Frelinghuysen were United States Senators from New

Jersey, when they opposed each other in the final arguments in 1833. These three men were of first class legal repute and gave the case an atmosphere of national importance at its close. Price stood high at the Philadelphia Bar at that time and is well known even today as the author of the Price Act.

The hearings for testimony were all held at the house of William Ridgway, Innkeeper of Camden, New Jersey. The proceedings fill a thousand large pages of small type, exclusive of the printed briefs of counsel and the Court decisions. It would be interesting to locate this old inn-site, where, in a small room fifteen feet long, was enacted this drama which wrought so much havoc in the Society.

In these hearings the Orthodox Friends were heard first. They called nine witnesses, two of whom were afterwards recalled and a tenth added, in rebuttal. The Hicksite Friends called only eight witnesses. Both sides followed the same tactics in calling witnesses first from Philadelphia, then from New York Yearly Meeting and finally from Burlington Quarterly and Chesterfield Monthly Meetings, as the issue was narrowed down to the School Fund, in particular.

The theory of the Orthodox case was based primarily upon the existence of doctrinal differences, which, they asserted were not in harmony with the historical beliefs of Friends, and that on account of that divergence of belief, events had shaped themselves into an actual Separation in the Yearly Meeting of 1828, followed by local separations in most of the subordinate meetings. They then applied the doctrinal tests from the writings of early Friends, as the basis of membership and attributed the *acts* of separation to the Hicksite Friends. Especial emphasis was placed upon the fact that the Yearly Meeting of 1828 was held at the time and place to which it had been adjourned in 1827, and had been preceded and followed by informally called sessions of the rival Friends, in the latter instance assuming for the first time, the name of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. This feature proved of almost conclusive importance in the findings of the Court.

The Hicksite Friends, on the contrary persistently refused to enter into any doctrinal questions whatever, claiming that they had no bearing at all upon the issue. This attitude is well stated in the original Answer:—

> "That by the law and constitution of New Jersey, the rights of property are inviolate, and cannot be taken from an individual or a religious association, without his or their consent,—and more especially that it cannot be made to depend on the test of any religious creed, framed after its vesting, and artfully prepared by a minority to answer its purposes."

The full extent of the testimony in support of this side of the case rested upon acts of Orthodox Friends, almost exclusively in Philadelphia, which were alleged to constitute a separation on their part. The chief struggle came over the regularity or otherwise of these acts, in the light of Disciplinary provisions and Quaker precedent. Three actions of the Yearly Meeting of 1828 were specified as being thus irregular,—namely the struggle over the appointment of Clerks; the appointment of a Committee to visit and assist subordinate meetings and the refusal to consider several proposals from the Quarterly Meetings, sent up for the attention of the Yearly Meeting. In each case it seems clear that a majority of the meeting was opposed to the action finally minuted, and upon the question of majorities and decisions by the weight of the meeting was waged a battle royal.

There is little of edification, even if space permitted, in elaborating the details of these subjects. Suffice it to say, the Representatives having been deadlocked over the reappointment of Samuel Bettle (Orthodox) as Clerk, no united report could be made to the meeting and he simply continued for lack of another appointment, holding over for want of a successor. Such also was the case with the Assistant Clerk, John Comly (Hicksite) of Byberry. He at first declined to serve, but was finally prevailed upon and did so till the Separation was completed. When the Committee was suggested to visit subordinate meetings, it was vehemently opposed at every point by the majority. The Clerk, nevertheless, minuted its approval by the meeting in spite of this majority, and when names were taken no Liberal Friends were suggested so that there were no names declined. Impossible as such procedure seems today, it was ruled by the Courts, as in accord with Discipline and practice, since Friends had never decided things by majority vote, and no nominee had actually been

ignored in the appointments. Regarding the proposals sent up by the Quarterly Meetings, the discussion became so heated and the views expressed were so at variance, that the Clerk adopted the conclusion that the Yearly Meeting was in no condition to consider important Disciplinary changes and points of practice and that the topics had better be left over to another session. This was undoubtedly a sound ruling that would meet with acceptance today, although the effect of such a ruling can never be completely satisfactory. The words of Chief Justice Ewing in reviewing this phase of the trouble are beautiful enough to be repeated:—

> "If wonted harmony ceased to prevail, if the minds of the members had become so sensitive on particular points that the introduction of them would produce agitation and excitement, unfavorable to cool, deliberate and dispassionate investigation and decision, it was the part of prudence, of christian forbearance, of enlightened reason, of patience and meekness and of that spirit of peace and submission, which, may I not say without offence to others, so eminently characterizes this religious denomination, to wait in humble expectation of the overshadowing of that Power who can say, as well to the stormy passions of the human breast as to the torrent and the whirlwind,—'Peace, be still!' "

Another effort that felt the full weight of Liberal Friends' opposition was Thomas Evans' compilation of doctrinal quotations from the writings of early Friends, called "An Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, in the Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion." This volume, familiarly known as "Evans' Exposition," was disdainfully referred to by the opposition as "Evans' Pamphlet." With its recitation of two hundred and thirty two ancient Quaker authorities, it was upheld by the Orthodox group, and adopted by the Meeting for Sufferings of which Jonathan Evans was Clerk, on Tenth Month 19, 1827. The Hicksite Friends inveighed against this compilation as a creed. The Exposition was introduced as an Exhibit in evidence and was much referred to by Samuel Bettle and Thomas Evans in their testimony. The doctrinal evidences were received by the Court and given full weight in the decision as accepted Quaker belief. As the Opposition had merely

opposed the introduction of any doctrinal matter whatever and had not attempted to state their doctrinal beliefs, or to support them, or to deny the authenticity of the Orthodox quotations, there was nothing of a positive nature for the Court to consider as against the compilation.

The exhaustive search of Quaker writings that this compilation must have required and the equally comprehensive scouring of the Quaker records of the past may be counted as a small gain in the face of all the tragedy of this Separation. Never before, I venture, had so thorough and minute a search been made for precedents; never before had Friends examined so thoroughly their history to illustrate and exemplify the origin and seat of corporate power and control in so loosely knit and individualistic a society.

Having accepted the doctrinal evidences which the one party set up and the other minimized, there was still the question of proper or improper exercise of power by the small group of Philadelphia Elders and the admitted minority of Orthodox Friends in almost all of the country communities. In that inquiry lies the saddest feature of the controversy from the standpoint of Orthodox Friends. A candid reading of the testimony gives great weight to the complaint in the pleadings on behalf of Shotwell,—

> "a few individuals who had long been continued in important stations, gradually and covertly began to assume an authority over their brethren, never delegated to them."

There is a very real reason why most of the old country meeting houses are in the hands of the Race Street Friends today and why most of the Philadelphia meeting houses of that time and the vast bulk of the trust funds and old institutions of the Yearly Meeting, —Westtown and Tunesassa Schools and Friends' Hospital in Frankford—are today in possession of Arch Street Friends. That reason is best shown by the oft neglected fact that the Separation of 1828 was caused as much by social differences as doctrinal,—very probably, even more so. Elias Hicks was a very strong and powerful personality. He was not averse to domineering. Thomas Willis, in his testimony regarding him stated:—

> "Being sensible of my own timidity and weakness, as also of his strong and determinate manner, I was apprehensive, etc."

In the Philadelphia Elders, a small and powerful group of about ten men, together (in the words of Abraham Lower) "with the wives of such as were harnessed with them," Elias Hicks met an equal degree of determination, and each was on a different scale of living. The eighty year old New England farmer with his powerful personality and glowing eloquence carried with him the great majority of the country Friends, glorying in being the great Commoner of his day. But it was not so with the well educated and wealthy Friends of the great city meetings, whom Abraham Lower described as an

> "aristocracy consisting principally of wealthy men of large fortunes, in some instances, I suppose inherited from their fathers, in others, I apprehend, by the misapplied lenity, as I consider it, of the Government of the United States in relinquishing the bonds for double duties, which threw large funds, great fortunes it was thought, into the hands of some of them,—by which means, as well as some of them being men of talents, others little or nothing on which they could claim such distinction but their wealth, they came to be thus distinguished—and as Leonard Snowdon once told me, in reference to some of these wealthy persons, I think, 'wealth gives power' "

This is by no means an isolated quotation from this sad story; it is typical of the personal rancor and vindictiveness which marked the testimony of two of the witnesses. It was a popular or democratic complaint, in an era when the world at large was making great stress of democracy, against a small, well knit aristocracy, both of intellect and wealth, that lived in Philadelphia in a simple but ample elegance quite foreign to the habits of the rural Friends that saw and partook of it at Yearly Meeting time. Moreover these country Friends were not as able as they are today to come to the city. They were very remote and they were not in great numerical preponderance over the City meetings. In many instances their members in the Meeting for Sufferings were City Friends, appointed by them so that they could have some possibility of attendance. There were few opportunities for any kind of education in the country beyond the modern grade school. Westtown School, then thirty years old, had made very little impress upon the Society and Haverford School was still to be established

as one of the first fruits of the Separation by that same group of Philadelphia Friends. Even among Orthodox Friends it was long considered as available more for the sons of the wealthy than for those of moderate means.

Another feature of Philadelphia life which, in the language of Halliday Jackson "did not meet the general view of Friends from country meetings," was the "Second Day morning meeting of ministers and elders." Halliday Jackson's account of it is as follows:

> "It was a self constituted meeting, I suppose set up by the common consent of the parties composing it, unauthorized by the Discipline of the Society and not accountable to any superior meeting. **** If a ministering Friend had a prospect of performing a religious visit, it has become a common practice to open it when collected in that meeting to their friends. **** If it was there united with, it was then very well and the Friend was at liberty to open it to the Monthly Meeting which was the only legitimate body to judge and decide in such concerns. If it was not united with in that meeting, the Friend of course was discouraged or perhaps would hardly have sufficient strength to open it to the Monthly Meeting.***** I think about the year 1806, the time the book of discipline was revised, one of the members of the Meeting for Sufferings informed me that this Second Day morning's meeting of ministers and elders came under consideration, and it was found that there was no discipline to support its continuance. Many valuable Friends became uneasy lest it should have an undue influence in society and become productive of fruits that would not give general satisfaction. It was therefore discontinued and I think, never since resumed."

Although that had not been officially resumed, the dissatisfaction lay with the practical resumption of this meeting in what each party called "caucusses" when the other party indulged in them.

Halliday Jackson who testified for the Hicksite Friends was the only witness whose testimony gives evidence of much experience in meeting affairs. He indulged in very little invective, gave his opinions with judgment, weight and courtesy, and recited facts without rancor. Had there been more of his type and Samuel Bettle's on both sides in control of affairs, the whole sad story might have had a different ending. Four of the Orthodox wit-

nesses on the other hand, were of the most expert in either Yearly Meeting. Samuel Bettle had been Assistant Clerk at thirty-six, serving for six years when he became Clerk and had so served for fourteen years when the trouble came to a climax in 1828. William Jackson, another witness for the Orthodox side, had attended Yearly Meeting constantly since 1746 and was a past master upon precedent and procedure. The testimony of these Friends appears with a precision and accuracy that is lacking in the evidence of those on the other side, which amply substantiates the charge of exclusive control by the Philadelphia Friends. This assurance and precision is well exemplified by the story, long current conversationally, of Samuel Bettle's repartee. He used the words, 'also' and 'likewise' very frequently. Finally, opposing counsel thought to take him unawares by saying,—"Mr. Bettle, you use the words 'also' and 'likewise' very frequently; can you distinguish between them?" Samuel Bettle is said to have replied, —"I think I can. Our counsel here is a lawyer; thou art also, but not likewise."

Another feature of this estrangement between city and country was the lack of intimacy among the members. We live in very small groups today; we go to school together; we play and work together and there are few who have not a large acquaintance throughout the Yearly Meetings. In those days it was different. There were almost 26,000 members at the time of the Separation. They did not, and of necessity could not all be acquainted. Cephas Ross, a Representative from Bucks Quarter in 1828, gave long testimony as to the events then happening, but knew few of the actors and finally admitted that he had never attended Yearly Meeting before, and that this was his first appointment even from the Quarterly Meeting. It was he who told of Thomas Wistar, one of whose functions, in that Yearly Meeting seems to have been to tell Abraham Lower and Cephas Ross to sit down. This Friend could not see Cephas Ross without turning his head.

> "He turned round as though with a design to look me out of countenance; and in his zeal was chewing his quid of tobacco. or some other thing that he had in his mouth. Not being acquainted with him, I supposed he was making mouths at me."

There are other humorous incidents that appear in these drab pages,—the story of Daniel Stroud, an enormous man physically, for whom Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, was named. He was one of the few Orthodox Representatives, sent up by Abington Quarterly Meeting. When Abraham Lower proposed that those in favor of a change of Clerks should draw to the other side of the room, so that they could be counted, Daniel Stroud leaped into the aisle, spread his great arms and dramatically pleaded with Friends not to condescend to anything like a vote in meeting deliberations. His vast bulk completely blocked the suggestion.

Halliday Jackson indulged in humor twice in relating the discourtesy of Pine Street Men's Meeting, which had adjourned while Elias Hicks, accompanied by another Friend, was preaching in the Women's meeting. He was vastly surprised at this occurrence upon his return, but remarked to Isaac Lloyd, that "it was very kind that they had left his coat for him." With further reference to Elias Hicks, and illustrative of his personality, was Halliday Jackson's comment:—

> "He was of such high standing in the place where he lived, among those who were not members, that he was often applied to for counsel and advise, in settling of differences and disputes among neighbors; so much so that I have frequently heard it said that a 'lawyer could hardly get a living within ten miles of where he lived.'"

I have no doubt that the full gravamen of that remark sank deep into the hearts of the eminent counsel there assembled.

When the case was removed upon appeal to the Court of Errors and Appeals, the final month of argument was held at Trenton. I have an old letter in my possession, dated from Mansfield, 8mo. 6th, 1833, written by my Great-uncle, George W. Taylor, to my Grandfather, Thomas B. Taylor, descriptive of the scene in the Court room. He says,—

> "Yesterday morning we went to Trenton (14 miles) and returned in the evening. Wood had the floor, having begun to speak on 6th day afternoon—it was expected he wd. not conclude till noon today, perhaps not before night, as he only left the subject of Doctrines at 5 o'clock last evening—having everything to say on the Discipline after that time. **** Wall

went to New York after he finished pleading and returned during court time yesterday morning. Southard was 'listening intensely and drinking in every breath'. I dread for our cause the approaching exhalation, the storm which he is brewing. There is no knowing what effect his thundering eloquence may produce on the minds of the Council. Eleven of them are sitting—four being disqualified from various causes, —Gov[r] Williamson thou knowest, could not vote, being counsel for Friends—Kaighn is a Hicksite and promises not to use any influence. Some of the Council give close attention to Wood, Governor Seely, in particular. The Hicksites count on 6 on their side and some of our folks count 6 also—time must settle that point. Wood as a speaker, in my opinion is more able than interesting. His voice is too low and manner not sufficiently animated but his matter is well selected and judiciously arranged and his logic as far as I could discover, incontrovertible. Frelinghuysen appeared to me to be itching for an opportunity to speak or like some flood gate pressed by an extraordinary head of water, which may be expected to pour forth torrents when it is raised. **** He is considered quite eloquent and what is better he is a religious man and feels no doubt attached to the cause of Friends from other considerations than merely the expectation of profit. The worst part of the affair is that Southard will conclude and consequently make the last impression on the Council."

It would be interesting to have an equally intimate narrative of Southard's effort when it eventuated. Of Frelinghuysen's closing speech there is an oral tradition. He is said to have summed up on the question of majorities somewhat as follows:

"Majorities! majorities! We hear much of majorities! But when Christ stood before Pilate, where was the majority?"

Whereupon Thomas Kite piped up from the audience in the Court-room,—"Lo! hear how he preacheth the Gospel!"

After five years of litigation, it is no wonder that Friends of both persuasions were anxious over the result, and that result, as already stated was a split decision, in favor of the Orthodox side, of seven to four. Both sides were exhausted by the intensity and length of the litigation. The Sheriff collected from Thomas Shotwell and paid to Joseph Hendrickson, as Treasurer, $2,815.44, but that was only part of the story. I have no knowledge what the case cost the Hicksite Friends, but an old manuscript, signed

by John Evans, Clerk, now in the hands of Joseph Middleton, the present Treasurer of the same school fund, reported to the five Quarterly Meetings then extant in New Jersey that the cost to the Orthodox had been $7,000, of which the Jersey Quarterly Meetings raised $5,000 and $2,000 additional was contributed by Philadelphia Friends,—a small stipend one is tempted to think, in comparison with their degree of responsibility in the matter. In spite of the decision the possession of meeting houses and funds, nay, even of this Crosswicks Meeting House remained with the faction that was in the majority; the same Report stating.—"There appearing little disposition on the part of the Hicksites to relinquish the possession of them without legal process." Neither side was much disposed toward further litigation after the exhaustion of five years battling in this one case.

But the real cost was not stated in the report. There were then five Quarterly Meetings in New Jersey alone, composed of sixty-nine meetings. The present bears poor comparison, either in numbers or local influence, with those Quaker communities of the days before this regrettable family quarrel. We are justified in thinking that the whole thing might have been avoided if there had been less personal vindictiveness and more urbanity and forbearance in evidence on both sides. Indeed, Samuel Bettle is said to have so stated, though I am without written confirmation of that statement.

The lesson for us to draw from the narration of these events lies in the proper application of them to our present and future. All things now point to an auspicious and ever increasing degree of cooperation and fellowship, leading we hope to an eventual healing of the breach. We do not, however, all agree on all things even today. Within each branch there are divergences of opinion and belief that somehow exist side by side and contribute of their strength to the Society. It is only by a tolerance of such, that any society moves forward. The advance guard of today is the conservative of tomorrow, and happy indeed is the group of people that can realize and practice that fact. The future has for us much of expansion and growth. New faces and types, new ideas and ideals will crop up as the years roll along. We cannot hope to avoid all differences of opinion, nor should we. Let us rather

set for ourselves the task of readapting the message of the Society of Friends to the circumstances of today and tomorrow, in a Church that has lost almost all of its traditional power, and which is being examined as never before in the light of the essentials rather than circumstances. I have no doubt that some things will transpire that will not appeal to many of us, as we grow older and conservative, but let each keep for himself a sweetness of approach to our problems and avoid the crystallization of opinions. If we look to the future with that hope and spirit, we will do much to further the future of our Society and of the Kingdom of God which it was raised up to serve.

FRIENDS' ALMSHOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA

By Davis H. Forsythe, Editor of *The Friend (Philadelphia)*, and former President of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia.

On the twentieth day of the Eighth Month 1924, there passed by purchase to the Maryland Casualty Company, of Baltimore, a plot of land that had belonged to the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia for a period of two hundred and eleven years. The history of the plot is a part of Philadelphia history and having for so long a period been entirely under the jurisdiction of Friends it may be appropriate for the BULLETIN to chronicle its story.

First, however, let us explore the place today. When Henry W. Longfellow returned home from a visit to Philadelphia in his early manhood, he may or he may not have revealed to a friend the impression made upon him by what he described as the "quaintest court" in the city; we know, however, as a matter of record, that in the early forties, when the plan for "Evangeline" had taken shape in his mind after Hawthorne had given him the key to the story, the picture of the Friends' Almshouse in Philadelphia, "by the mysterious and whimsical way memory often unfolds her holdings" fastened itself upon him as the closing scene of the work he was then engaged upon.

If you will go with me today on south Fourth Street, crossing Walnut Street, we will turn east by the first narrow alley between

two tall office buildings, passing an archway that opens into the court of old Saint Joseph's (of which more later) and our feet will be staid as a passage-way opens to our left. Here is a narrow court, less than the tenth of a city square in length, flanked on either side by brick buildings, two stories high, severely plain, with numerous doors and windows, the former opening into narrow halls and staircases leading to the story above. Between these two buildings, about twenty feet apart, are three flower beds, in winter destitute of the faintest vestige of life, in the summer months adding a charm to the spot quite foreign to all else in the neighborhood.

To the north all the space between the court where you are standing, and Walnut Street is covered by a six story office building, modern in all its appointments, thoroughly adapted to the needs it serves, but recently occupied, upon completion, by the Maryland Casualty Company and the Aetna Insurance Company.

It is this plot of ground, reaching from Walnut Street on the north to Willing's Alley on the south (already referred to) and embracing the new office building in front and the court in the rear, that concerns us in this story.

A Philadelphia daily of recent date under the caption, "First City Almshouse in Philadelphia," reviews briefly the history of the "City Poor House" which, located between Spruce and Pine Streets and extending from Third Street, is mentioned as the first city poor-house. In Deed Book 1, No. 3, page 71, in the office of the Recorder of Deeds, will be found the transcript of the deed (6 mo. 16, 1767) conveying said property to those having the care of the city's poor. This to all intents and purposes was the first City Almshouse and here it remained for two generations, or until 1834 when for good and sufficient reasons it was removed west of the Schuylkill. It then took the name that has clung to it, "Blockley Almshouse."

It will be remembered that for many years after the founding, Philadelphia was very largely a Quaker city, and then as now, Friends took a commendable and honest pride in caring for their sick and unfortunate members. Hence the newspaper article already referred to is justified in the statement "that the Society of Friends had anticipated the municipality by a num-

ber of years (54), almost two generations, having established an Almshouse on the south side of Walnut Street between Third and Fourth Streets as early as 1713."

This parcel of land that we have tried to locate, with the large modern office building on the north end of it and the low buildings in the rear, has had a very interesting history. This history, too, has been much more than simply interesting, for it has chronicled the story of how the least fortunate in a large and growing community have been the constant concern of those who have been able to minister comfort and often times real happiness to their unfortunate and distressed fellow members.

This then is a bit of its history. By deed from William Penn, signed by Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story and James Logan, it became the property of John Martin, the deed of transfer stating that on the first day of the First Month, 1684, payment be made, etc. etc. William Penn had not been long back in England when the lot passed by the common method of purchase into the hands of John Martin, a tailor by trade.

John Martin had married Elizabeth Sims, whose family were the original holders of the property. (There were, according to records, two narrow contiguous lots which passed to John Martin.) The original deed of confirmation from William Penn to John Martin is still preserved and has recently been photographed.

It is stated on reliable authority that John Martin had a warm friend, possibly a connection by marriage, John Forrest, whose holdings in the infant city were north of his less than half a square, and reaching down from Chestnut Street almost to Walnut, on the east side of Fourth Street. Forrest's property was much larger than Martin's and became very much more valuable. He specified in his Will that his estate should be devoted, under the care of Friends, to the education of Friends' children, so that it was natural for John Martin to feel that this need had been cared for by his friend, and he would leave his modest estate for the comfort of those at the other end of life's journey. Hence he stipulated in his Will that it was not for educational purposes but for the benefit of those who, in advanced life, were not able comfortably to support themselves.

These were not the words he used, but the idea seemed to be uppermost with him that the needs of those in limited outward circumstances should be met in part by his benefactions.

John Martin survived the date of the purchase of the Walnut Street property by eighteen years. In 1702 the lots became the property of the Monthly Meeting "for the use of poor members of the Society of Friends," being bequeathed to three trustees to carry out the Will of John Martin as just referred to.

There is no print of any description obtainable from which to form an accurate reproduction of the property as it appeared at that time. We know its exact location but this is all that we can be certain of. There is good reason to believe that at the south end of the lot was John Martin's humble home, where he and Elizabeth lived in comfort and where he plied his trade; the little house presumably was shaded by a cluster of forest trees, while the north end of the enclosure, fronting on Walnut Street, may have been vacant except for the vegetable and flower garden cared for during the summer months by John or by some one whom he engaged to relieve him. Be that as it may, we know by the records that John Martin passed to his reward in 1702.

The Monthly Meeting it seems did not take possession of the property until 1713; whether Elizabeth Martin survived her husband or some condition of the will delayed the transfer does not appear, but the actual transfer did not occur until later. The gift was made known to the Monthly Meeting at the time of Friend Martin's death, and was accepted by the Meeting in 1713. It was at this time that the name Walnut Place was given to the property; the name has been retained on the city map; a city mail box has been for many years located within the courtyard and still is. The title, Walnut Place, is conspicuously marked over the entrance doors leading into the new office building, so that we may conclude that for more than two centuries the spot has carried that name.

Eight little cottages were built on the rear end of the lot. Pictures of these are to be seen, for the last of the cottages was not removed until about 1876. They were most modest in appearance and, of course, very small. The print that is pre-

served shows a square brick building, a door and one window in the front, with two windows on one side and none on the other. Possibly there was a small shed to the rear. The cottages faced, four north and four south, and each had its own little plot of ground, the whole court being cut off from the neighboring buildings by a high brick wall, the common means of separation between Philadelphia gardens. The roof was steep, thus allowing considerable height to the second story, where a dormer window added to the attractiveness of the little house and afforded air and light to the comfortable chamber. The roof extended over the front of the cottage, thus forming a sort of porch the whole length, and on a settle fastened against the wall under the one window, the aged couple to whom this was a veritable home enjoyed during the summer days the cool breezes that crept up from the Delaware.

Whether any record has preserved the names of the many aged Friends who successively lived in these cottages is little matter; of far more interest is the story which has come down to the present, that Friends were no respecters of persons and at one time one of the cottages was occupied by an aged couple, who were held in such high esteem by their fellow-members that twice each week as meeting morning came in course, a carriage called regularly and they were driven to the Meeting-house a few blocks to the north; one was a minister and sat "head of the meeting," the other, an Elder, occupied a seat on the upper tier of benches on the opposite side of the partition.

Some day, perchance, the story of the life that stirred in this little court during the early eighteenth century will be told us in its true setting, for even yet, after all the changes that have been made through the years that have come and gone, an English traveller sees more in Walnut Place to remind him of old London than in any other part of Philadelphia that he has visited.

But our prose story has not been finished. In 1729, the Almshouse was built on the Walnut Street front. It was a low stone building, the general effect being very pleasing. The central portion was two stories high, the wings but one, extending almost the entire frontage. By this time Philadelphia was grow-

ing rapidly, having assumed the place of chief importance among the towns and infant cities that occupied fortunate localities in the young colonies. Friends were prominent, as we well know, in politics and in industry, and while not all who came to the Almshouse to end their days there were of the Friendly fold, the Friends had a directing and controlling influence in the management of the new enterprise. It was appropriately called the Friends' Almshouse, for it was as a matter of fact directly under the control of the Monthly Meeting, and so continued until its sale, covering a period of a little more than two centuries as already stated.

Probably the life in the almshouse and in the eight little cottages had many points of contact, though we have reasons for believing the cottagers considered themselves a select group and maintained a community life of their own. But let me say, and it cannot be said with too great emphasis, that the name of the institution from the first was a misnomer, from the common acceptance of the term. For the new home on Walnut Street bore little kinship to the almshouses that succeeded it in Philadelphia.

"Among the Friends who found a comfortable home here were several who were able to carry on in a modest way some skilled trade. It is recorded that one of the earliest and most expert of the Swiss watchmakers of Philadelphia in the eighteenth century spent his declining days in the Friends' Almshouse, and while there turned out many specimens of his workmanship.

"Two or three of the old women had little schools, another made molasses candy in the winter time, and another bought various kinds of herbs and retailed them in small packages.

"One man, too poor to command capital to manage a shop of his own and often too ill to work, had he a shop, cobbled for a friend shoemaker and made pin-money for himself.

"Still another made horn buttons, and when his friends failed to supply him with suitable raw material, he improvised certain hard woods more easily obtained."

If we multiplied the occupations which helped to while away the time we would surely have a picture far removed from what

the name Almshouse suggests. As a matter of fact the institution was not an almshouse but rather a place of residence for the honest poor and aged.

And so the years came and went until the city located a new almshouse on Pine and Spruce Streets, where the poor of the city, not members with Friends, naturally found a new home. The building on Walnut Street continued to be as it had been before, the home of Friends, and incidents associated with the lives of some of them might be multiplied. Friends continued their care and oversight, but it is quite possible that circumstances fore-shadowing their exodus from city control had an influence in the establishment of the new almshouse. From now on until 1841 the house on Walnut Street assumed even more the character of a home. At times, doubtless, it was a veritable burden and at all times a care to the Monthly Meeting, and some Friends may have entertained the wish that John Martin had made a different disposition of his property.

In 1841 the building was torn down. It had served its day, having been the first "Friends' Home" in the Yearly Meeting and presumably in the United States. A three story brick building was erected the same year. It covered the whole front on Walnut Street, except a narrow passage-way on the west side, and extended back much further than did the stone building, which it replaced. The property now received the title," The Friends' Almshouse Estate," a title altogether true to history, but very difficult of explanation to the curious tenant who wanted to know to whom he was paying his rent.

In 1890 a fourth story was added, at the suggestion and under the oversight of the widely known firm of Cope and Stewardson, architects. For many years they occupied the entire fourth floor.

In the mean time the little cottages at the rear, eight of them, gave way to the demands of the times and became an encumbrance to the property; the last went down in the centennial year, 1876. In place of these were erected the two rows of low brick offices referred to earlier in this paper as still standing. The management now had under its control some sixty offices. A superintendent was employed by the Monthly Meeting's Committee, he in turn engaged his engineers, his elevator man, his

army of janitors, his errand boy and his clerk and assistant.

Fortunately for the venture the insurance business of the city seemed to centre near Walnut and Fourth Streets, and the offices were often all occupied; but there came times when the management questioned the wisdom of retaining the property, as a meeting enterprise, and when in 1924 a fair offer was made them by the Maryland Casualty Company, the Meeting was virtually a unit in its judgment that the property should be sold.

It is interesting to notice that during the long period of years which our narrative has covered (1713-1924) the property has had but two owners, Friends of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting and the Maryland Casualty Company, the Philadelphia Branch being under the direct management of John W. Donahue, Resident Vice-President of the Company in Philadelphia.

At the formal dedication of the beautiful new building last autumn, prominent business men of Philadelphia and near-by cities were present, as also insurance men from points near-by and more remote. Possibly the most interesting feature of the occasion, aside from the addresses given by the President of the Company and by John W. Donahue, was the presentation to every guest of a beautifully executed folder of twenty pages entitled, "Yesterday and Today." The composition was the work of George W. King, prominent in the service of the company. The opening sentences I want to quote. While in no sense intended to apply to the present generation, we may place them where they belong, to those of our people who have gone before us: "American Independence was guaranteed in the founding of Pennsylvania, for not only was the Independence of America in the spirit and work of William Penn, but much more, not yet realized, in the progress of mankind. It was more than a coincidence that Philadelphia rang out the first glad notes of American freedom; William Penn had sounded the note before it.

"In the annals of the human race there is no more fascinating and inspiring story than that of the founding of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. It surpasses romance or the fairy tale, especially if one remembers the time in which the events took place. It has often been told, but it is doubtful if it is yet fully appreciated."

The folder just referred to is beautifully printed and rich in its illustrations. These include a reproduction of the new doorway, with Walnut Place conspicuous above it; naturally a copy from the steel engraving of William Penn in armor, by Sartain; one of the little cottages so often referred to in this sketch; the "Almshouse" as it must have appeared in 1729; a reprint of the original Deed of Confirmation from William Penn to John Martin, which is quite decipherable, in all its details, with the help of a glass; the office building that replaced the Almshouse in 1841; the court at the rear, opening on Willing's Alley, with the flower-beds and the iron mail box; the new building whose history is before it; and as the final picture, Evangeline kneeling at the bedside of Gabriel.

In connection with the last illustration in the foregoing catalogue, it can be said that in the accuracy of its execution it parallels the spirit of the work carried on by the company. A careful study was made of costume, expense and time were not considered, so that the figure kneeling by the bedside is clothed in the exact garb worn by the Sister of Mercy who may have nursed at the Almshouse at the time Longfellow plans the death of Gabriel.

As we opened our narrative with a reference to William Penn, I want to close it with a story associated with him. It may be altogether fancy, but it has already found its way into print and is so characteristic of the man and so in keeping with the sentiments of George W. King in "Yesterday and Today" that it cannot be out of place.

When the land along Walnut Street was still for the most part the property of Penn and but little of it cleared of forest trees, a delegation of Roman Catholics waited upon his representative and proffered the request that a lot be deeded to them for a place of worship. The message was given to Penn and it is said that for a moment he hesitated, but in an instant, gathering himself together, he made reply after this fashion: "Yes, let them have a place where they may worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences," and then, checking himself but for a moment, he concluded—"but let it be placed well back and not fronting on one of the main streets

of my fair young city." Here at any rate it was built and here it stands, side by side with the Almshouse property, a long narrow passage-way leading back from Walnut Street to Saint Joseph's, the first Catholic church in Philadelphia, opening through a court and then an arch-way to Willing's Alley.

In this story together with that of the Almshouse we have striking illustrations of two of the prominent traits of Penn's character: his broad and tolerant spirit and his practical sympathy and consideration for those who were oppressed and without succor.

THE JOHN WOOLMAN MEMORIAL, MOUNT HOLLY, NEW JERSEY.

By Amelia M. Gummere.

Our Quaker historic shrines are so few in this country, that we must not neglect those that we possess. The poet Whittier is kept in remembrance in the New England homes associated with his early and later life, and it is not deemed unimportant to maintain in order and to show to the visitor on a poetical pilgrimage, the actual possessions which belonged to his daily life.

In 1915 a few interested persons secured the house built by John Woolman for his daughter Mary, on her marriage in 1771 to John Comfort. An incorporated Association then formed took title to the two acres of garden in which it stood, a part of the original eleven acres bought by the young Woolman in 1747, the deed for which is now in our possession, written entirely in the hand of John Woolman himself, as conveyancer. This little property is a part of the great tract of land taken up by John Haddon of London as one of the original purchasers of West Jersey, and was sold by Elizabeth Haddon, his daughter for whom Haddonfield is named, in 1746 to Peter Andrews, a well known minister, who died in England in 1756 while on a preaching tour. Peter Andrews evidently desired John Woolman as a neighbor; they were intimate friends and had been "recommended" in the ministry on the same day, traveling a great deal together afterward "in Truth's Service." On a por-

tion of the land now facing Branch Street, Woolman built the simple frame house facing what was then the Chesterfield Road, and married Sarah Ellis and brought her home here in 1749. Bricks are frequently dug up in the orchard where the dwelling stood until 1850, at which time the then owner, Leander J. Budd, built the present frame house of Herbert Crippen, and moved the old Woolman house to serve as a part of his barn. The history of this old portion, however, was preserved in the Budd family, and three years ago it was acquired by the John Woolman Association, and moved to an adjoining spot in the garden, where its early and original rafters are all that can safely remain as visible witness of its antiquity. We have now, however, this new-old house with its staircase and fireplace where the originals were, where lived John Woolman himself and his wife and child for many years, and the little brick house directly on the street, which John Woolman built for his daughter, and for which we have the specifications and the cost of construction, all in Woolman's own hand. This enables us to say who furnished the bricks and did the glazing; who was the painter, and who furnished nails, lime, lumber and the labor as well. Few historic shrines are so complete in their genealogy, so to speak, as this.

Since 1920 the little house, now open as a tea room and guest house, has lived through some hard times in consequence of the war. At that date, the bicentennial of John Woolman's birth was celebrated. With a desire to encourage a community spirit in the neighborhood, prizes have been offered in the public schools, and a good deal of interest has always been shown by the school children, who use this house as a study of the mode of living in the simpler part of the community, in the Colonial period. The children are always particularly welcome. Speakers connected with the American Friends' Service Committee or visitors from abroad spoke in the Court House several times during the war under the auspices of the Association, and each summer one or more Friends' meetings for worship are held under the trees. Guests who have registered have come from Maine to Texas, and Carolina to California, and many from abroad. It is a fact that the English Friends have always shown more interest in the work of Woolman than his own countrymen,

and all of the prominent English Friends who have visited this country since our first opening, have been welcomed under our roof. Over two thousand persons registered last summer.

A great land "boom" has suddenly almost threatened to engulf this tiny property within the past year, when a park has appeared and a lake, with over fifty small houses built or contracted for close by. Prompt purchase of the adjoining lot, at some effort and sacrifice, saved us from too close encroachment. That this is not an unique experience is shown in the effort of our English Friends to do exactly the same thing, although on a larger scale, for the Jordans property near London, where are interred William Penn and many of his family. Let us hope that such efforts to preserve our priceless Quaker shrines may be amply rewarded.

DOCUMENTS

JOSHUA FIELDING'S ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS IN AMERICA[1]

At London, ye 8th day of ye 9 mo. 1725, I Imbarked, and having a favourable Passage, ye 19th day of ye 10th month I arived at Bridge Town in Barbados, visiting ffriends meetings sundry times round that Island, at Bridge Town, Spikes Town, Northside, center and East End, was at several monthly meetings, and Bridge Town Quarterly meeting, which meetings were large & comfortable, ffriends having a Good sense of Truth, and People being courtious, Leaving Barbados, ye 19th 1 mo. 1726, I Imbarked, and having contrary winds, 27th day I arrived at Johns Town in Antegua having many meetings among a Civil honest people, wch was large and satisfactory. Leaving Antegua, ye 16th 3 mo. I arrived at Plymouth, in Monserat, having sundry large meetings in ye townhall, & elsewhere, at all which ye People were very civil and atten-

1. This account of Joshua Fielding's journey was brought to the editor's attention several years ago by Charles F. Jenkins. The transcript was supplied partly by him and partly by M. Ethel Crawshaw (now Morland). Joshua Fielding was a London Friend. For further data concerning him see Journal of Friends Historical Society (London), 10 (1913): 119, 126, 221.

Samuel Bownas, traveling in Virginia 1727, wrote as follows: "Next day at the Meeting I met a Friend of London, his name was Joshua Fielding, who had visited the island, and South Carolina, and had travelled by land to North Carolina, about five hundred miles, in about three weeks, mostly alone, which was a difficult and hazardous attempt. Some thought it too great an undertaking, and seemed to blame him for it; but he got safe through, though he had no provisions but what he carried with him, and met with but about four or five houses or plantations in all that five hundred miles' travel, which obliged him to lodge in the woods frequently; but having a small pocket compass that was his guide when the sun and stars were hid from him." *Quoted from Life, Travels and Christian Experiences of Samuel Bownas* (edn. 1895). p. 161.

tive. Leaving Montserrat ye first day of ye 4 mo. I arrived at Charles Town at Nevis, having Meetings Sundry Times round that Island, among a sober honest People, at Charles Town, New Castle, and New River wch were large and satisfactory, leaving Nevis ye 24th 4 mo. I arrived at Bass Teree in Christophers, having large meetings round that Island, at Bassee Teree, Old Road, Sandy-Point, and Deep bay, at all which ye people were very sober & attentive, Leaving Christophers, ye 12th 5 mo. I Imbarked, next Day touched at Estasia, and ye 14th day I arrived at Anguilla, having several meetings among a civil ffriendly people at ye Worship House, and Remote Places, wch were large and comfortable. Leaving Anguilla ye 29th day I Imbarked, and ye next day I Arrived at Spanish Town, having sundry large meets, at ye Governours house, and Elsewhere on ye Island, at all wch ye People were very kind and attentive, Leaving Spanish Town, the 12th 6 mo. I arrived at Tortolla, having many meetings among a sober ffriendly People, at Old Road, and other Places, wch were large and comfortable, Leaving Tortola, 2d 7 mo. I imbarked next day touching at Johns Island, I arrived at Thomas's Island,—Hireing a Sloop. 12th day I Imbarked, sailing South of Hispaniola, after a Tempestrious Passage, 19th day I arrived at Port Royal in Jamaica, having sundry meetings round ye Island among a Civil Courtious People at Kingstone, Spanish Town, South Side, West End, and Northside, which meetings were large and satisfactory, after ye Hurricane, whilst waiting for a Ship had many more meetings at Kingstone and Spanish Town, then at Port Royal, in Jamaica.

Ye 1st day of ye 12 mo. I imbarked sailing Round ye westend of Cuba and through ye Gulph of fflorida, after a difficult Passage, ye 25th day I arrived at Charles Town, in South Carolina, visiting ffriends meetings in Charles Town and on Ashley River, which meetings were large and Satisfactory a sober well disposed People attending, after Charles Town Monthly Meeting Traveling through South Carolina Desart, 5th 2 mo. 1727, I entered North Carolina Wilderness, passing over Pamplicoe had a meeting at ye Chief Judges House, then visited ffriends meetings Cross Piquimons to Puscotank, which were large & satisfactory, after Piquamus Monthly Meeting. Leaving North Carolina, ye 4th 3 mo. I Entered Virginia, visiting friends meetings on ye West and East of James's River was at Nansimond Quarterly Meeting, and ye Circular Yearly Meeting, wch were large & well.

Leaving Virginia ye first day of ye 4 mo. I entered Maryland visiting ffriends Meetings on ye Western and Eastern Shores of Chesapeck, which was large & well, after Choptank Monthly Meeting. Leaving Maryland, ye 30th day I entered Pensilvania Territorys, visiting ffriends' meetings through ye then Lower Counties, then Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks Counties, was at these 3 Quarterly Meetings and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting wch meetings were large and comfortable ffriends being favoured with a powerful Living Ministry, and a Prudent wholsom Discipline,

Leaving Pensilvania Province ye 3dth 7 mo. I Entered New Jersey, visiting ffriends meetings, in West & East Jersey, was at Bridlington Quarterly Meeting & Shrewsbury Yearly Meeting, wch meetings were large and Comfortable, Leaving New Jersey 28th 8 mo. I entered Long Island visiting ffriends meetings on Long Island and New York continent, was at Westbury & fflushing Quarterly Meetings, wch were large and satisfactory, after ye Earth Quake, leaving Long Island. I had a meeting wth. ye Baptists, in Connecticut colony, yr ye 1st of ye 10 mo I entered Rhoad Island Colony visiting ffriends meetings on Rhoad Island, Providence Plantation, New England, New Hampshire, and Nantucket. was at New Port Quarterly Meeting on Rhoad Island. and Sandwich yearly meeting in New England which meetings were large & Satisfactory a seeking Religious People attending after ye Hard winter whilest waiting for a ship was at Several Monthly Meetings & Salem Quarterly Meeting, then at Boston in New England, ye 11th day 3 mo 1728, I Embarked & having a Tollerable Passage ye 17th day 4 mo I arrived at London, in great peace thanks be to God, having Travelled 21000 miles to 480 meets. in 952 days.

RESOLUTION OF THE DIRECTORS

The Directors of Friends' Historical Association have learned with regret of the death, on Seventh Month sixth, 1926, of Anna Richardson, a valued member of the Board of Directors of this Association and Chairman of the Membership Committee. Her helpfulness and energy in increasing our membership, and her unfailing interest in every phase of our work, will be greatly missed.

We desire in this minute to record our appreciation of her personality and her work, and our sorrow at her removal from amongst us.

ITEMS FROM PERIODICALS

..*The Friend* (Phila.), 3 mo. 4, 1926, p. 427, contains an account of the first important conference of Friends in Madras, India. During the conference, the wisdom of setting up an indulged or "allowed" Monthly Meeting was favorably considered.

According to *The Friend* (Phila.), 3 mo. 11, 1926, p. 438, there has been a movement to preserve the old meeting-house on Market Square in Chester. It was erected in 1736 and is said to be the second oldest building in that city. As the two Friends' meetings in Chester are now holding joint sessions in the meeting-house on Chestnut Street, the older meeting-house is no longer in use.

A very unusual event took place in Albany in Tenth Month, 1926, when the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred on Emily Howland, a member of the Society of Friends, by New York State University. Emily Howland, who at the time was 99 years old, was the first woman to receive this degree from New York University. The conferring of the degree is described in a very interesting way in *The Friend* (Phila.), 12mo. 23, 1926, pp. 303-305. See also *The American Friend,* 12mo. 9, 1926, p. 805.

In *The Friend* (Phila.), 12mo. 23, 1926, pp. 301-303, appears an interesting historical sketch of John and Sarah Roberts who came to America in the ship Kent in 1677, and settled a few years later near the present Moorestown, New Jersey.

The address given by Thomas E. Jones, on the occasion of his inauguration as President of Fisk University, is given in *The Friend* (Phila.), 12mo. 30, 1926, pp. 316-317, and continued.

In *The Friend* (Phila.), 12mo. 30, 1926, p. 315, there is a paragraph translated from "Der Protestantismus der Gegenwart", by Dr. G. Schenkel, which gives great credit to the Society of Friends for its stand against slavery.

A valuable paper on "Hannah Penn," by Amelia Mott Gummere, appeared in *The Friend* (Phila.), 1mo. 20, 1927, p. 353, and continued. This paper was read on the occasion of marking the site of the old *Slate Roof House,* on Second Street, near Sansom, in Philadelphia, and later at a meeting of the Burlington County (New Jersey) Historical Association.

"How Friends Measure Up" is demonstrated by a table published in *Friends' Intelligencer,* 3mo. 13, p. 211. This table was prepared by the General Conference Advancement Committee. It is based on the "Par Standard" adopted by the Interchurch World Movement. It gives the percentage scores, combined from reports of 102 Friends' meetings, on Physical Equipment, Religious Education, Finance, Program and Co-operation. "It is obvious at a glance that Friends are long on equipment and finance, and short on religious education and program."

In *Friends' Intelligencer,* 4mo. 3, 1926, pp. 265-267, are extracts from an address by Wilson S. Doan. This address was given at the 200th anniversary of Matinecock Meeting House, New York. It contains much historical material and is a strong plea to preserve the old meeting-house.

Friends' Intelligencer, 4mo. 10, 1926, p. 291, reprints an article in regard to Exeter Friends' Meeting from a local paper of Womelsdorf, Pa. This meeting celebrated its 200th anniversary in 1926. In the course of its history, it has had three meeting-houses, the present one having been built in 1800.

A tribute to Elizabeth Powell Bond, with portrait, is published in *Friends' Intelligencer,* 4mo. 17, 1926, pp. 306-307.

In *Friends' Intelligencer,* 6mo. 12, 1926, p. 483, there is an article concerning the 175th anniversary of the Pennsylvania Hospital, with special reference to Friends' connection with it. This hospital has never actually been under the direction of Friends, but they have always been interested in it and associated with it.

The *Friends' Intelligencer,* 7mo. 10, 1926, p. 560, reprints an article from the *London Observer* about the meeting-house at Thetford, Norfolk. This is the meeting-house which Tom Paine must have attended as a boy. The overseers are now planning to sell the meeting-house, as it is no longer used and is in very poor repair.

An account of the life of Karl v. Tschirschky, a German Quaker martyr, is printed in *Friends' Intelligencer,* 7mo. 17, 1926, pp. 583-584.

An historical account of the old Falls Meeting, at Fallsington, Pa., is to be found in *Friends' Intelligencer,* 7mo. 31, 1926, pp. 619-620, and continued. This article is an address given by Elizabeth Satterthwaite at the meeting of the Pilgrim Society at the Falls' meeting-house in Ninth Month, 1925. A picture of the meeting-house is printed with the article.

The proceedings of the Friends General Conference at Ocean City are published in *Friends' Intelligencer,* 8mo. 14, 1926, and continued.

Some historical notes on Friends in Canada are given in an article in *Friends' Intelligencer,* 9mo. 18, 1926, pp. 760-761. Pictures of the meeting-houses at Coldstream and Sparta are included.

It is interesting to note that the Adams Society of Friends' Descendants arranges a meeting each year in the old meeting-house at Adams, Mass. This meeting-house was built in 1786, but has not been regularly used for eighty years.—*Friends' Intelligencer* 10mo. 2, 1926, p. 800.

Regular meetings are no longer held in the old Randolph Meeting House, which is about two miles from Dover, N. J. According to *Friends' Intelligencer,* 10mo. 16, 1926, pp. 844-45, an association of the descendants desires to hold an annual meeting there. New York Yearly Meeting helps them in arranging this.

When Elbert Russell was in England, he visited many different places connected with the life of the Penn family. He has written an article about this part of his trip which is printed in *Friends' Intelligencer,* 11mo. 6, 1926, pp. 899-900, and continued.

In *Friends' Intelligencer,* 11mo. 6, 1926, p. 905, there is a picture of the replica of Jordans Meeting House which was built for the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition. Friends agreed that this was a very excellent reproduction of the old meeting-house but thought that its location on "Treasure Island" was unfortunate.

In *Friends' Intelligencer* 12mo. 18, 1926, p. 1026, there is an account of the old Friends' burial ground near West Collingswood, N. J. This is said to be the oldest burying ground in Camden County. The Property Committee of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting is trying to find out the names of some of the Friends buried there.

In *The American Friend,* 3mo. 4, 1926, p. 144, there is a note in regard to the fact that Salem Monthly Meeting, Mass., after a continuous record of 248 years, has changed its name to Lynn Monthly Meeting. The Monthly Meeting used to gather alternately at Salem and Lynn, but owing to the small number of Friends now living in the former place, it was decided to hold all the meetings at Lynn.

In *The American Friend,* 4mo. 8, 1926, p. 230, there is a memorial to Elizabeth Test, written by Susie Meek Frazier. Elizabeth Test was a teacher and a friend to the Indians in Oklahoma, and was greatly beloved by them.

"Fifty Years Have Passed" is the title of a very interesting article in *The American Friend,* 4mo. 29, 1926, pp. 271-272, which gives a resumé of the many changes in the customs of the Society of Friends during the last half-century. The story centers around the author's experience at Westtown School fifty years ago.

The history of the meeting at Stanford, Iowa, and an account of the new meeting-house there, is contained in *The American Friend,* 5mo. 13th, 1926, p. 310.

A report of the progress of the Friends' work among the Indians appeared in *The American Friend,* 5mo. 27, 1926, p. 334.

A resumé of the life and work of James Wood in the Society of Friends, particularly in the organization of the Five Years Meeting, is printed in *The American Friend,* 6mo. 3, 1926, pp. 348-349.

In *The American Friend,* 7mo. 1, 1926, pp. 415-419, there are three articles in regard to the sixtieth annual session of Canada Yearly Meeting at Pelham, Ontario.

In the days before the Civil War, the home of Levi Coffin at Fountain City, Indiana, was one of the important stations of the Underground Railroad. In *The American Friend,* 9mo. 2, 1926, p. 563, there is an account of the impressive exercises held at Fountain City in commemoration of the slave-running activities that centered in the Coffin home.

The American Friend, 9mo. 2, 1926, p. 566, contains an interesting sketch of the life of Frank Modoc, the Indian who became a Friends' minister. He was converted to Christianity through the missionary efforts of Friends in Oklahoma, and later became a faithful minister of the Gospel.

John Elwood Bundy, a Friend and noted landscape artist of Whitewater Valley, was given an appreciative recognition by his fellow citizens of Richmond, some three hundred of whom attended a dinner in his honor under the auspices of the Richmond Art Association.—*The American Friend,* 9mo. 23, 1926, p. 626.

A description of the old meeting-house at Chappaqua, N. Y., built before 1753 and still in use today, is to be found in *The American Friend,* 10mo. 14, 1926, p. 668. See also *Friends' Intelligencer,* 10mo. 23, 1926, p. 865.

The new building of University Friends' Church, Wichita, was dedicated in Tenth Month, 1926. In *The American Friend* 10mo. 21, 1926, p. 687,

there is an account of the dedication exercises. This is the first time in the history of University Monthly Meeting that it has had a home of its own, as former meetings were held in one of the University buildings.

The American Friend, 10mo. 28, 1926, p. 700, contains a brief account of the old Purchase meeting-house, overlooking Rye Lake, N. Y., which was destroyed by fire in 1919. The present house is on the site of the old one and is of nearly the same size and form.

In *The American Friend,* 11mo. 25, 1926, p. 763, there is an account of the missionary work that Friends have carried on in Africa during the past twenty-five years,

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In *The Friend* (London), 3mo. 12, 1926, p. 218, there is a review of a book entitled "William Penn et la Paix," by Taro Terasaki, a Japanese. This book gives the Japanese idea of Penn's Peace Plan, as well as giving a very readable life of Penn. There is also an appendix on John Bellers and his plan for lasting peace. "The book is wholly unassuming and modest, but gives evidence of that delicacy of perception and meticulous care which are so frequently characteristic of the writer's race."

The Friend (London), 4mo. 2, 1926, p. 268, quotes an amusing incident from *India's Women.* In answer to the question, "Who was William Penn?" one of the children replied, "He was a squaw."—The editor of the BULLETIN wishes to state in this connection that American children are quite as original as the children of India. He knows personally of an American boy who had been studying (?) the period of the Protestant Reformation. In an examination appeared the question: "Who was Loyola?" The boy rose to the occasion by answering tersely, "The seventh wife of Henry the Eighth."

A very full account of the adjourned sessions of London Yearly Meeting is printed in *The Friend* (London), 10mo. 1, 1926, pp. 865-887. These sessions were held to consider the needs and plans for future work of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, and the Council for International Service.

In *The Friend* (London) 10mo. 1, 1926, p. 869 ff., there are many very good pictures of Friends' House, the new home of Friends' activities in London. Pictures are given of the interior as well as the exterior of the building.

"Who's Who in the Furniture at Westtown" is the title of an article in *The Westonian,* Spring Number, 1926, pp. 11-17. This gives an account of the activities of the Committee on History and Relics in going over and having the necessary repairs made on the many valuable pieces of antique furniture at Westtown School.

In *Friends' Quarterly Examiner,* 7mo., 1926, pp. 193-210, is an article entitled "Early History of the Quarterly Meeting of Sussex, Surrey and Hants," with quotations from an original document written by John Grover, a schoolmaster in Brighton, in 1706. A description is given of the first meetings of the Friends in Sussex in 1655, and the gradual growth of Sussex Quarterly Meeting and its subsequent union with Surrey and Hants Quarterly Meetings. Great inspiration was given to the early meetings by the visits of George Fox and other concerned Friends. Before meeting-houses were built, the Friends often used to meet in private homes, and we are told that, "Quite a number (of meetings) were held at Warminghurst, the house of William Penn, even in the absence of the owner."

There is an historical sketch by Francis R. Taylor, entitled "Old Names Renewing Their Antiquity," in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner,* 10mo. 1926, pp. 309-313. This is an account of some of the places in Pennsylvania which were given the same names as English towns, such as Oxford, Cheltenham, Horsham, Abington, etc.

Our fellow member, Professor Ezra K. Maxfield, of Washington and Jefferson College, has a valuable article on "Quaker 'Thee' and Its History" in *American Speech,* vol. I, no. 12, 9 mo., 1926, pp. 638-644. The article is also published separately.

It should be read in conjunction with a discussion launched in the *Friends' Review,* 34 (1880-1881): 164, by the late Professor Francis B. Gummere. (See also same volume, pp. 199, 284, 300, 309.) Professor Gummere argued brilliantly and convincingly, against some opposition, for the propriety of a nominative "thee" in familiar usage, reserving "thou" for the more formal and sacred occasions. His unanswerable dictum was that those who insist on "thou art" should also say "ye are" instead of "you are" to be consistent.

Dr. Maxfield has no quarrel with the use of a nominative "thee" but his main point is to discover when and how it came about. His suggestion and arguments cannot be covered here. The main difficulty seems to be to determine *when* the nominative "thee" was first used by Friends. He quotes from an interesting letter by a Philadelphia Friend in the late 18th century lamenting the usage. (This letter was written by Benjamin Perkins, of

New York, formerly of London. It was printed in London, 1806, as *A Letter to a Friend in London on certain improprieties of expression used by some members of the Society of Friends.* There is a copy in the Haverford College Library.)

Can any reader of these lines in England or America trace it further back? The editor shares the suspicion of Professor Maxfield that it goes back, as colloquial usage, to the beginnings of Quakerism, and beyond. Colloquialisms in print, however, are often hard to find.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The spring meeting of Friends' Historical Association was held at the old meeting-house, Crosswicks, N. J., on the afternoon of 6mo. 5, 1926. The principal paper of the day by Francis R. Taylor is printed as the leading article in this BULLETIN. An interesting and valuable paper by Joseph S. Middleton, a life long resident of Crosswicks, was also read and has been published separately.

An interesting part of the program was the replacement of a three-pound American cannon ball of the Revolutionary War in the back wall of the meeting-house. The ball was fired by the American forces at the British, from a point across Crosswicks Creek, during a skirmish preliminary to the Battle of Monmouth. It had been removed many years ago but was replaced on this occasion, and cemented in place.

The annual meeting of Friends' Historical Association was held on Second-day, 11mo. 29, 1926, at Friends' Meeting-House, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia. Charles F. Jenkins, Vice-President of the Association, gave a most interesting illustrated lecture on "The Signers of the Declaration of Independence." The Association and its guests have rarely been favored with a lecture, covering in a scholarly way a wide range of biographical interest, with so piquant a sense of personal humor.

Directors for the ensuing year were elected, and after the close of the meeting, they elected the Officers of the Association. The list of Officers and Directors is published as usual at the beginning of this number of the BULLETIN.

The following notes from Swarthmore College will be of interest to the readers of the BULLETIN. Our fellow member, Professor William I. Hull, has been elected to the Howard M. Jenkins Chair of Quaker History and Research. Professor John Russell Hayes is now full time librarian of the Friends' Historical Library at Swarthmore, and the college is entering upon a vigorous campaign to build up its already large Quaker collections. Charles B. Shaw, formerly of the North Carolina College for Women, is in charge of the general library at the college.

The Friends' Historical Library of Swarthmore College has acquired an interesting old manuscript,—a record book entitled, *An Account of Publick Friends that have Visited Skipton Meeting since the Yearly Meeting at York in the 4th Month 1698.*

We give a few of the entries:

Year	Mo.	Day	
1698	7	16	Samuel Hunt and John Loft
	9	6	John Fothergill and John Dodson
1704	9	25	Thomas Rudd and some others
1713	11	14	William Wilkinson and Abreham Anthony New England
1736	7	24	Rebeckah Menshall Pennsylvania
1749	10	13	Daniel Stainton Philadelphia
1771	11	10	Robert Willis East Jersey America
1776	12	11	Thomas Carrington from New Garden Monthly Meeting Pennsylvania
1784	10	20	Nicholas Waln Philadelphia
1825	9	15	Elizabeth Walker, America

A similar record, lately acquired, lists the names of "the Public Friends that have Visited New England. Since the year 1656 from Old England from Ireland Barbadus Antegua North Carolina Virginia Maryland Pennsylvania the Jerseys and Long Island. . . . O.E. Stands for Old England Ber Berbadoes. . . . Pen for Pensylvania. etc."

Extracts. —

These four came together in 1656: Christopher Holder, Thomas Thiston, William Brend, John Copeland. The men friends names all 4 of O.E. Came to Boston.

These 2 came 1659: William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson. both of O.E. both Martyrs in Boston.

These 2 Came seperately 1671: William Edmonson, of Ireland, John Burnyeat, of O.E.

these 2 came about this time: Samuel Bown, Heugh Coperthweight, of Long Island.

4mo. 1732: John Richardson, Richard Walln. this the 2nd time of Pen not Publick.

The Friends' Sesqui-Centennial Commission did an altogether creditable work in connection with the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia during 1926.

The major undertaking was the building and furnishing of the reproduction of the old meeting-house on "High Street," with the horse sheds in the rear which were moved from Frankford Meeting-house.

Thousands of visitors from all over the land, as well as from foreign countries, enjoyed a quiet rest in the Friendly atmosphere of the meeting-

house. Many were surprised to learn that the Quakers still exist and that they are an active religious organization. The custodian and the voluntary aides all testified to the deep and reverential interest of the visitors who came into the building.

Those historically inclined will be glad to know that the *Proceedings* of the Commission have been preserved. A type-written copy has been deposited at Swarthmore College and another at Haverford College.

The Board of Managers of Haverford College has recently published a handsome booklet descriptive of the life and work of Jacob P. Jones, one of the great benefactors of the college.

A descendant of Mary Dyer (executed on Boston Common) sends the following query: Is it true that the wedding dress and other personal belongings of Mary Dyer are preserved among Friends in Pennsylvania or Delaware?—Reply to editor of BULLETIN.

Some inquiry has been made as to what Abraham Lincoln's attitude was toward the peace testimony of Friends during the Civil War. He expressed himself on several occasions, and there is quite a little printed on the subject in the various publications concerning Lincoln. The following are two pointed statements from his writings:

"Engaged as I am in a great war, I fear it will be difficult for the world to understand how fully I appreciate the principles of peace inculcated . . . everywhere by the Society of Friends."

Letter to Rhode Island Friends, 3mo. 19, 1862. Printed in Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History,* 6: 328.

A more personal note was struck in the following:

"The Friends have had and are having a very great trial. . . . For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds I have done and shall do the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under my oath to the law. That you believe this I doubt not; and, believing it, I shall still receive for our country and myself your earnest prayers to our Father in heaven."

Letter to Eliza P. Gurney, 9mo. 4, 1864. Printed in Nicolay and Hay, (editors), *Abraham Lincoln, Complete Works,* 2: 573-574.

In the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. 54, pp. 295-318, there is an article on the "Reverend Sampson Bond of the Bermudas." Bond was a minister of the Church of England, and in 1678 figured in a dispute with the Quakers of the island. As to the religious situation at that time, it was reported in 1679 as follows: "The Presbyterian

persuasion is most prevalent, being reckoned to include two-thirds of the population, the remainder being Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers." The disputation between the Reverend Bond and the Friends was fully up to the standard of those days in the matter of vigorous epithets. Friends were reported to have said that Bond "would as soon take a bear by the Tooth, as dispute with them." Bond claimed, "That the main end of the Quakers Meetings in these Islands, is to make the Lords' Christ, His Holy Spirit, His Angels, and Apostles, all Lyars and False Witnesses of God."

Friends seem to have been quite equal to the doughty Sampson Bond in their thesauric ability, as witness the following: "Now here this Great Greek Thrasonical Sampson, boasting over unlearned Men with his Metonymyes and Syllogisms, who ought to be ashamed of his Metonymical Sarcastical, Synecdochical, Metaphorical, Syllogistical, Samsonical Monsters he produces to fight with." These quotations are from published writings on the controversy but are probably representative of what went on in the oral debate.

The following item on fire fighting methods at Haverford College (then Haverford School) in 1834 may be of interest:

"The construction of hose to supply fire engines, having superseded the use of fire buckets in this city (Phila.), the managers of Haverford School would be obliged to their friends, who may have these buckets, if they would present them for the use of the institution under their charge.

"The buckets may be sent to the Bible Depository, No. 50, North Fourth Street, or if more convenient, the undersigned will send for them, on being informed where they can be obtained. 9 mo. 27. George W. Taylor." *The Friend* (Phila.), 9 mo. 27, 1834, p. 408.

The following item from *The Friend* (Phila.), 12 mo. 22, 1832, p. 88, indicates a first step but a great one in the revolution that has taken place in transportation since *The Friend* was first published. After stating that "On Second-day last, the whole journey from New York to Philadelphia was accomplished on the Camden and Amboy Rail Road, in eight hours and forty minutes", there is the following comment: "The two cities may almost be said to be brought within speaking distance of each other, with so much rapidity and comfort is the space travelled that lies between them."

The Character of a Quaker, a pamphlet published in 1672, throws an interesting sidelight on the attitude of the most rabid of the anti-Quakers. This truly remarkable paper declaims as follows:

"A Quaker is an Everlasting Argument, for like Afrique he is daily Teeming with some new Monster....To term him Gomorrahapple, Painted Tomb, or varnished Rottenness doth not reach him; He is rather an Apothecahries guilt Box, inscribed with the glorious Title of some Elixar, but

filled with Arsinicke or worser Venom;....The Materia Prima of this RELIGIOUS CROCODILE is a certain Natural Melancholy or sullen discontent....You may take his Face, for a new fashioned Sun-Dyal where the FORCED WRINKLES represent Hower-Lines, and his Tunable nose the Gnomon....[He] reads the Bible only to furnish himself with Scripture names to call those he intends to quarrel with....He is most Sagacious at Damning Folks, and delights in cursing as much as good men do in blessing." (Contributed by Richard C. Bull.)

Henry W. Scarborough, Esq., of 1200 Lincoln Building, Philadelphia, has borrowed from Walter F. Leedom of Bristol, Pa., a Bible printed by John Field of London in 1658 and brought to Pennsylvania by Richard Leedom, one of the first settlers near Richboro, Northampton Township, Bucks County, Pa. It is believed that nearly all of those belonging to the Quaker family of that name are descended from the said Richard Leedom. A photo-stat copy of the births, deaths and marriages entered in the said Bible will be found on the shelves of the Pennsylvania Genealogical Society at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, and the Bucks County Historical Society at Doylestown, Pa., where the family and public will have free access to them.

It is of interest to know that the Pennsylvania Genealogical Society is making photo-stat copies of colonial Bibles and other original sources of genealogical data free of charge and those descended from the early settlers of Pennsylvania are urged to make arrangements for having photo-stat copies made of the genealogical records relating to their colonial progenitors.

The following query has come to the editor: "Can you help me regarding the authorship of 'Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of Members of the Religious Society of Friends,' Philadelphia Tract Association, 1870? In one place we have it attributed to Nathan Kite and elsewhere to William Kite."

By the help of Watson W. Dewees and others the following facts have been brought to light: Nathan Kite published in *The Friend* (Phila.), 1847–1851, a series of papers on "Thomas Scattergood and his Times." This series contained various biographical sketches.

William Kite, ex-Westtown teacher and an uncle to Nathan Kite, worked this material over about 1869 when he was Librarian of Germantown Friends' Library. He omitted the parts concerning Thomas Scattergood (1748–1814) because a book was in print concerning him. The rest of the matter was brought together with many omissions and some additions. Thus came the book queried after. Perhaps the absence from the title-page of any reference either to the original author or to the later editor is an example of Quaker reticence concerning the human element in any work of a religious nature.

Perhaps the Friends' Social Union will become an historic institution. It functions as a rallying point for Philadelphia Friends of both branches. The founding of it was the special concern of our late Friend, Henry S. Williams. He and Charles F. Jenkins set the idea in motion and the first reception and dinner was held at the City Club, Philadelphia, 10 mo. 21, 1924. It is a pleasure to recall that Henry S. Williams lived to attend that very successful meeting which was a harbinger of many good things to come.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bootham School (1823-1923). J. M. Dent & Sons, London and Toronto, 1926.

The centennial history of Bootham School by a number of collaborators is a book which cannot fail to interest anyone who is concerned with Quaker schools in America; to one who has visited York and experienced the abounding hospitality of Friends in the cathedral city, it is a pure delight.

Here is a school which seems to the present reviewer to have held firmly to all the spiritual verities of Quakerism, and at the same time to have let the breeze of art and individuality blow freely through it from comparatively early times. William Tuke (d. 1822) is described as "the school's true founder", though the school did not open until the following year and was not taken over by York Quarterly Meeting until 1828. The school has ever since had the oversight of a faithful and tactful committee, but we suspect much of the favor with which Bootham has been blessed is due to the fact that but five men have served as headmasters in a century, and that these have been men of vision and leadership.

Bootham is but one of several excellent Quaker schools in England, and the chroniclers of this volume have surely been modest in their claims of distinction. But the record is a fine one, which includes on nearly every page such well-known Quaker names as Rowntree, Harvey, Newman, Clark, Watson, Tuke, Wilson, Thompson, and many others who have made contributions of value to nineteenth century British society.

A few quotations will give an idea of the worth of this beautifully illustrated volume:

"It goes without saying that the motive behind the deep concern of the early Friends for the education of the Society was a religious one. It was not a mere zeal for general enlightenment such as animated the Radicals of a hundred years later that moved them, but a desire to preserve the rising generation from moral and religious error. They recognized more clearly than their successors have always done that, more than any other body of Christians, the Society of Friends depends upon the *education* of its members, if the term is interpreted in the right sense, for it at least cannot rely vicariously on the trained minds of a special ministry."

"If only George Fox had had an ear for music! There is nothing in Quakerism, as there was in Puritanism, to render suspect the cultivation of creative art, or to exclude the purifying and quickening influence upon the young of the study of, and the contact with, all forms of beauty. In this matter the nineteenth century was to do much, at any rate, to make good the defective sympathy of the earlier generations."

"The Exhibition of the Natural History Society was one of the year's events. The establishment of this Society and the encouragement of out-of-school pursuits represent a great debt which the school owed to John Ford and which were acknowledged to be the unique distinction of Bootham in those far-off days when Greek and Latin composition dominated the public schools." And again, "Bootham School was in the modern study and teaching of Geography a generation in advance of most English schools."

Upon the boys in this Quaker school the influence of the Minster, which some Haverfordians have caught a glimpse of from the school cricket field, calls forth this testimony: "We who were at school in York imbibed, perhaps, a considerable amount of culture from the softening influence of York Minster, that glorious architectural relic which dominates our city as its central feature."

It was appropriate for the Archbishop of York to send the following greeting on the occasion of the school's centenary: "The Centenary of Bootham School is an event of real importance in the educational life of the city and indeed of the country.....I know something of the high ideals of life and education which are upheld in the school. I pray that by God's blessing those ideals may be increasingly fulfilled, and that Bootham School may continue to be a happy mother of sons trained and ready for the service of God and of their fellow-men." And Sir Michael E. Sadler in sending greetings from Canada said: "Bootham has an honored place in the history of English education. It enshrines a living tradition. It inculcates a way of life. It gives the freedom which finds its fulfillment in service."

The happy balance of spiritual, intellectual and physical education at Bootham is what most impresses the visitor or the stay-at-home reader. The school has been greatly blessed by having a generous and devoted body of Old Scholars. But it is alive to its future responsibilities. Sir George Newman referred at the centenary to two characteristics of education at Bootham: namely, that the substance of the curriculum has been approximately the same as in contemporary secondary schools, with more attention to the sciences and less to the classics; and that athletics have taken a less absorbing place than in other schools. He spoke of the purpose of Bootham education as being the cultivation of the individuality of the boy, leisure-time pursuits, health-giving discipline, and education by contact with the outside world.

And now for a little story which contains the epitome of boyish modesty and especially of British youthful modesty. We can imagine that some Bootham graduates would express themselves like these boys upon reading this present enthusiastic review! It appears that the boys of Ampleforth

are accustomed to play cricket with the boys of Bootham. Upon one occasion one of the Ampleforth Old Boys met one of the Bootham Old Boys, and the latter began to relate the story of how the Ampleforth boys used to be held up at Bootham as the model of behavior and politeness. "You were nothing like as sick of it as we were," replied the Ampleforth Old Boy, "we were completely fed up with being told over and over again by our masters that the Bootham boys were the best and politest boys in the world."

W. W. Comfort.

Jones, Rufus M. *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers.* London: Methuen and Co.; New York; Geo. H. Doran and Co., 1927. Pp. 181, cloth.

This volume is one of a series under the general editorship of L. P. Jacks. The series is entitled, *The Faiths, Varieties of Christian Expression.*

Rufus Jones opens his volume with a chapter of Introduction. It is a broad survey and a penetrating analysis of the religious problem in the world today. It does not assume that there is one religious panacea for all kinds and conditions of men. "We should as individuals belong, if possible, to a religious group, a spiritual family, that best fits our needs and aptitudes. We should not all be fused and merged into one uniform mould in one vast structure. We should have our denominational homes and we should worship where we find ourselves in most sympathetic accord with others." The author then proceeds to describe the kind of denominational home and spiritual atmosphere that Friends attempt to provide.

The second chapter is a splendid survey, in brief compass, of "The Rise of Friends and their Spiritual Background." Following this are studies of Quaker contributions to religion and life: the central spiritual message, views on the sacraments, simplicity of life, the peace message, humanitarian service, and Quaker education.

A reviewer is tempted to quote beyond the bounds of one small Bulletin. In explaining the Quaker quest for the development of the inward life the author says: "The Quakers felt convinced, and still are convinced, by their own experience that this tiny rill of our own individual life somehow, somewhere is conjunct with the Ocean of Spirit, whose tides flow back upon us and let us feel the sea-beat of the eternal reality.... There are rivers, like Abana and Pharpar, 'Rivers of Damascus,' which never reach an ocean and never feel a tide. They flow out into the sands of an arid desert and are lost in the marshes which their own waters make. There may, of course, be human lives like that, which connect only with the shallow cistern of their inland exits. The Quaker does not believe that. He holds a working faith that we all touch a deeper life and are within hail of 'that immortal Sea that brought us hither.'"

Never, I think, can the inner meaning and purpose of a Friends' meeting for worship be set forth in more convincing and stirring phrases than the

following: "There is a moved and overbrimming state of mind. It is not exactly 'thinking', not perhaps quite 'meditation.' It is what the old Friends used to call *centring down*....At the best, there is a corporate sense of overbrooding presence, a feeling of awe and wonder, and a straining forward of spirit to join cooperatively with the invading Life and Spirit. It is a mystical group-experience of a mild and unecstatic type. Each helps all, and all help each. Healing, vitalizing currents seem to flow from life to life....When one is in Damascus, he often hears the currents of invisible submerged rivers running underneath the streets of the city, and somewhat so one feels in these meetings at their best a tide of living Spirit flowing underneath the hushed and gathered group."

A Friend is likely to feel that the Quaker method of procedure in meetings for business is too much idealized (p. 65 f.). Perhaps too it should have been noted that in most parts of America Friends have departed from the original Friendly method. Yet every contributor to this series of books will undoubtedly seek to set forth the possibilities of his denominational group at its best. Nor does Rufus Jones fail to point out again and again how far Friends fall short of their ideal. Without hesitation he strikes his finger on the weak spots of Quakerism, and says, "Thou ailest here and here."

The most significant diagnosis of this kind is in connection with the question of theological dogma. Reference is made (p. 44) to the failure of the later Reformation movement to live up to Luther's early conception of "justification by Faith." Friends also (p. 49) "have had their slumps and slides toward forensic thinking and artificial methods of salvation, but their own prophetic and spiritual leaders in all generations of the Quaker movement have been 'vitalists' and not scheme purveyors." This is a weighty warning against a Quaker Fundamentalist movement that would in the subtlest fashion filch from Friends the very nub and kernel of their spiritual message.

A real climax is reached in a last great chapter on "The New Spirit and the New World." Here are criticism, praise, and challenge, in due proportion: "I cannot assert that the achievements of these two hundred and fifty years are startling. There has been a good deal of blundering in those years, and wasted energy. There have been periods of quietism. There have been aspirations for the making of a 'peculiar people.' There have been Quakers who have wanted a strict, exclusive sect, withdrawn from the world. There have been among them stern, narrow theologians who were absorbed in the minutiae of doctrine——The only way the new kind of world will eventually come will be through the persistence, the patience, and the unyielding faith of those who will not surrender. We must have our Thermopylaes of peace and our spiritual Bunker Hills, where a little band of heroic persons are ready to stand the opposing world and to show that in the end the right way becomes the way men live."

This small book is a ripened product of the author. It gathers up, sifts, and evaluates the results of a life-long study and experience of Quakerism. No other living person could do so well what has been done here. No other

person is so well equipped for the task with an understanding of religious psychology, a knowledge of Quaker history and of its great background of mystical sects, a close personal touch with present-day Quakerism everywhere, and withal a prophetic spiritual insight rare in any generation. Each successive study by Rufus Jones in the field of Quaker history and thought has been a worthy contribution. This one is the summation and quintessence of them all. If I could possess only one of his Quaker books, I should without the least hesitation choose this one.

Klain, Zora. *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina.* Philadelphia. 1924. 346 pages. $2.50.

A few phases of the history of Friends in the South have been treated very adequately. Now Zora Klain, of the University of Pennsylvania, presents as his thesis, a valuable work in this field, "The Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina."

A brief introductory chapter gives a short survey of Friends' principles and the attitude of early Friends toward education. Throughout the study sufficient references are made to contemporary events and developments to enable the reader to keep the activities of Friends linked up with the general developments in North Carolina. A background is found for the study of the schools, in the efforts of the Quaker colonists to educate their children to the point where they could study the Bible and the few current treatises on religion.

A great fund of information is given concerning the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meeting schools which ranged in grade from the primary school, through the Friends academy to the Yearly Meeting college. Individual schools are treated separately and in such a way as to enable the reader to get a good deal of information concerning any of the schools.

Two periods stand out as the high spots in the interest of North Carolina Friends in education: one began with the "Library Movement" in 1829; the other extends from the close of the Civil War through a period of more than twenty five years, until the public schools of North Carolina were sufficiently developed to look after the educational needs of the State. The story of the gradual absorption of the Friends' grammar schools and academies by the public school system is an interesting one.

The work of Friends in education of Negroes, Indians and orphan children, and their interest in coeducation occupies a less prominent place in the study.

Two valuable features of the work are, a good index and an excellent bibliography. The author had access to a great many manuscript and secondary sources. Minutes and records of Friends' meeting in North Carolina and the manuscript records of the Baltimore Association stand out among the numerous sources. The great number of excerpts of reports, minutes and tables may make the account more difficult for the reader but a great fund of history has been brought to light and made available for students of Quaker history.

Baltimore, Md. ALGIE I. NEWLIN.

Paxson, Henry D. *Sketch and Map of a Trip from Philadelphia to Tinicum Island, Delaware County, Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia. George H. Buchanan Company. 1926. Pp. 248, cloth.

This is an interesting and valuable contribution to Pennsylvania history by one of our fellow members. The author's purpose, expressed in the Preface, is "to present in concise form the history of the first settlement of Pennsylvania, about which, in the minds of some, there are elements of haziness." The book will help many people to get a truer perspective of the beginning of Pennsylvania and to dispel the half conscious idea that the first settlement of the great colony actually began with the coming of William Penn.

The main part of the book is arranged as an itinerary for an automobile trip from the City Hall, Philadelphia, to Tinicum Island, "upon which Governor Printz set foot to found the first white man's settlement in Pennsylvania (1643)." The round-trip from Philadelphia to the Island and back again to the city covers 37.8 miles. Apart from the sights and sites of Tinicum Island the itinerary, outward and inward, conducts the traveler to many places of historic interest. There are lavish illustrations, including Lindestrom's Map of New Sweden. The book is printed on coated paper throughout, and is beautifully bound in blue and gold. Altogether it is a work of which the author and his friends may justly be proud.

Quaker Biographies. Series II. Vols. I-V. Philadelphia: Book Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, 304 Arch Street, Phila. [1926] Pp. 229, 222, 246, 298, 305, cloth. Five volumes, $5.50; single volume, $1.25.

Because of the omission of book reviews in the BULLETIN of last autumn no extended review of these volumes is required at this late date. Most book reading Friends have done their own reviewing by this time. The list of biographies in each volume must, however, be read into the record.

Volume I: Daniel B. Smith (1792-1883), Thomas Evans (1798-1868), Rachel Wilson (1720-1775), David Sands (1745-1818), Nathan Hunt (1758-1853), Moses Brown (1738-1836).

Volume II: Joseph Rhoads III (1787-1861) and Hannah Rhoads (1793-1865), Thomas Wistar (1798-1876), Ann Branson (1808-1891), Eliza Paul Gurney (1801-1881), Alfred Cope (1806-1875), Rufus P. King (1843-1923), Clarkson Sheppard (1813-1895).

Volume III: Mary Anna Longstreth (1811-1884), Eli Jones (1807-1891) and Sybil Jones (1808-1873), Allen Jay (1831-1910), Archibald Crosbie (1830-1912), Caroline E. Stephen (1834-1909), John Bacon Crenshaw (1820-1889), Joel Bean (1825-1914) and Hannah Elliott Bean (1830-1909).

Volume IV: Joseph Moore (1832-1905), Samuel Morris (1827-1905), Hepsibeth Hussey (1827-1908), John S. Fowler (1832-1910) and Esther H. Fowler (1845-1922), Isaac Sharp (1806-1897), Joseph S. Elkinton (1830-1905), Joseph Bevan Braithwaite (1818-1905), Annabella E. Winn (1818-1908).

Volume V: Isaac Sharpless (1848-1920), Pliny Earle Chase (1820-1886), Nereus Mendenhall (1819-1893).

Space does not permit particular mention of the thirty-five biographies in this valuable collection. An exception may be made, however, of the sketch by Edward W. Evans of the life of "Isaac Sharpless,—Educator, Historian, Citizen, Quaker." This biography is well proportioned, well written, and worthy of its great subject. Lovers of Isaac Sharpless, upon concluding the story, are likely to linger for a time cherishing the impression that they have been sitting once more in genial converse with their revered friend. The present reviewer was also brought to the renewed conviction that our late friend was one of the great Quakers of history,—which one was greater in personality and in service to his generation? This special reference to him in the BULLETIN will not seem inappropriate to those who recall that he was the founder and first President of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia.

No doubt the Book Committee had the reasons sometimes offered for omitting all technical aids such as foot-note references, bibliographies, and index. There is not even a date of publication on the title-pages. The table of contents is most meagre. The reasons for such omissions are never sufficient. There should by all means be indexes, even though brief. No one thing compromises the usefulness and standing of a book more than the entire omission of an index. If such omission is unavoidable there should at least be an analytical table of contents. Foot-notes might be omitted, but in that case there should be brief bibliographical summaries at the end of each sketch. These furnish a starting point for any reader who wishes to expand his knowledge of any part of the subject. These five books are a distinct addition to Quaker biographical literature and it is regrettable that their usefulness as permanent reference works should be impaired by the complete absence of the standard technical aids.

Roberts, Clarence Vernon, compiler, assisted by William S. Ely. *Early Friends Families of Upper Bucks.* Philadelphia, Pa.: The compiler. Pp. 680, cloth. $12.00.

In 1703 James Logan, writing from Philadelphia to Thomas Fairman and David Powell, Surveyors, directs them on their journey to the *Great Swamp,* to "lay out, either in one or two tracts, as it shall best suit the place, ten thousand acres of good land, under certain bounds and marked lines and corners, to be returned into the office upon a warrant which shall be directed to you for the Proprietary," etc. This tract was accordingly surveyed for William Penn, and all the early papers and minutes of meetings refer to this and the surrounding region as "The Great Swamp." "Friends at the Swamp," and "The Swamp Meeting" are often referred to in the early days of American Quakerism. This tract was somewhat maligned by its name, since only a portion at the south was really swampy. The great low-lying basin "sparsely covered with hardwood timber and clothed with a heavy growth of grass" proved, when cleared by the Friends

for settlement, to be extraordinarily rich land,—a fact which gave the Manor and Township of Richland its name in 1734.

Upon this fertile portion of Bucks County settled, at different dates, many Quakers of English, Welsh and Irish descent, and near them also came German Protestants—all of them of fine old hardy stock, eminently fitted to cope with the difficulties and hardships of their new pioneer life, and to develop the resources of the rich farming land now laid open to cultivation.

The volume under review contains the genealogy of forty-four of the families of the principal settlers in this garden spot of Pennsylvania, and many others are also mentioned. The prominent leaders have brief biographies, and many of our readers will here find record of their ancestors. The subject matter, as well as the appearance of the book, are superior to many such, published privately; and while there has been slight criticism of small errors in English place names, the authors are to be congratulated upon the great amount of valuable genealogical information which is here made available. There are many familiar names of prominent families, such as Ffoulke, Roberts, Lancaster, Kinsey, Morgan, Heacock, Hallowell, etc. The illustrations, particularly of the picturesque old meeting houses, are excellent.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

Edward Grubb's *Quaker History and Thought* (The Swarthmore Press, 1925, 182pp.) is a collection of essays most of which, appearing elsewhere, are now preserved in more permanent form. Little need be said of those which deal with general questions from the Quaker point of view. The author's approach to such topics as mental healing, Christ and the world problem, the use of the mind in religion, etc., is in his usual lucid and serene style that has commended his books to thoughtful Friends on both sides of the Atlantic. Several interesting chapters in the history of Quakerism receive here fresh and careful treatment. The tercentenary of George Fox has turned us all to a fresh appraisal of his character. His relation to Christian theology is appropriately discussed in the first of these essays. The original *Journal* of Fox revealed several incidents of mental healing in his life. These and other obscure passages are the basis of a unique chapter on "Spiritual Healing among Early Quakers." From the later history of Quaker thought is discussed the relation between reason and revelation as illustrated in the controversy between John Norris and Richard Vickris, and between Biblical and immediate revelation as illustrated in the "Evangelical Movement." The last named essay is the longest and perhaps of most interest to readers of the BULLETIN because of its relation to past Quaker controversies in America and to the present religious scene. Evangelical leaders like Mary Dudley, Thomas Shillitoe, David Sands, William Savery, Abraham Shackleton, Hannah Barnard, Stephen Grellet, William Forster, Isaac Crewdson and Joseph John Gurney are briefly characterized.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

FRANKFORD MEETING-HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

etings for worship began as early as 1682 at private residences. Present house, the third, built 1775. Note the horse block.

ABINGTON MEETING-HOUSE, PENNSYLVANIA

etings for worship, held at private houses are mentioned in 1683, and a Meeting-House five years later. The present house was built in 1756–7.

(Cuts for this frontispiece kindly supplied by Watson W. Dewees.)